1: Honigman E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

willingly. Any reluctance to separate or any assistance furnished by a girl's partner indicate unwillingness or at least unreadiness for intercourse. 839

Homosexuality can be divided into two types, overt homosexuality and behavior which seems indicative of repressed or inhibited homosexual tendencies. The former behavior, although socially condemned, nevertheless occurs secretly, generally in the form of mutual masturbation. Informants reported overt homosexuality to occur in both sexes following puberty and to be largely a consequence of sexual frustration. "No girl, can't catch," Nitla explained, "he stuck for girl, some man do that. Girl, can't catch a man, do that, bother girl." Apart from social disapproval if discovered, the behavior is not associated with any specific sanctions. 838

Overt homosexual tendencies are often publicly demonstrated between intoxicated men. Several such instances were observed. When Richard Day, Edward Prince, and the latter's wife were drinking in the ethnographer's tent, Richard, after gesturing toward Edward's penis, began to simulate masturbation of the latter. This was really frottage, as Edward was fully clothed and the hand did not rest directly on the genitals but in their vicinity. On another occasion Old Man was drinking and, turning to Richard Day, spoke of how he had teased and wrestled with the latter when Richard was a small boy. He began to speak of men "fooling" with boys the way they "fool" with women. He gestured playfully toward Richard's genitals and referred to the youth's "little worm." At a later party Old Man told his son-in-law, Harry Lang, to give Donald Sun a cup of brew. Harry put his arms around the boy and drew the latter to his knee. He called Donald, "My little sweetheart." Donald bore this patiently but Old Man cried: "Shame, mustn't do that."

Behavior suggesting hidden homosexual impulses is revealed by unmarried adolescents of both sexes. It is chiefly manifested in embracing, wrestling, and by a youth playfully coming up behind another young man and pressing his body close to the latter. Sometimes a swift coital-like rhythm is manifested in these embraces. On one occasion Flower Joe was observed playfully simulating the strumming of a guitar on her cousin's, Irene Wiley's, breast. Irene showed no reaction.

No particular value is associated with male continence. Carefully regulated sexual behavior (that is, the avoidance of excess) may aid a man to live long and bring "good luck," but some sexual experience is nevertheless regarded as desirable. Continence may actually be as dangerous as excessive sexuality if it leads to "worry about girl." In such cases a man may "Lose his brains, go crazy." Therefore the advice is: "Better get married." 831 [117]

The idea of a woman remaining a lifelong virgin was regarded as amusing. The informant rejected this notion as an impossibility and stated that if a woman of thirty, who had never been sexually initiated, were to see a man, "She grab him. She sleep right there. More worse than dog." However the informant thought it very unlikely that young men would ever permit a woman to get that far into life without some sexual experience.

Recreation

No one who has learned to know the Kaska people can doubt their great love for recreation or "fun." Necessarily reduced to a minimum during the family's isolation in winter, recreational patterns flourish during the summer in Lower Post. The formal amusements 52 517

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

are: drinking parties; participation in festivals, particularly the potlatch; music; dancing, and gambling. The less important informal recreational patterns, which we will discuss first, include: idling, conversation, humor, and visiting.

Informal. Idling is a feature not only of the summer period in Lower Post, when families may be seen gathered in the shade of the mission buildings or the traders' stores, but is also the pattern of the long winter evenings after the family has finished supper. Rarely are individuals seen loafing alone, the tendency always being for a man to seek company when he has free time available. People from more than a single family, when loafing in a group, tend to separate according to age and sex; the women and children gathering by themselves, the men lolling a short distance away. In such groups people often sit with their backs to each other with no thought of discourtesy. Generally the space separating individuals is not great; children cluster near the mother and the women, as well as men, sit in close proximity. In the evening idling in the center of town is often enlivened by the rough-housing and wrestling of boys and unmarried young men and girls. In winter it is sometimes accompanied by making figures out of a folded handkerchief or pulling string figures.

A special form of idling occurs when the community gathers on the river bank in Lower Post to watch the arrival of the boat from Dease Lake with freight and passengers from Telegraph Creek and Wrangell, Alaska. The boat is often heard when it is still out of sight, around the tongue of land dividing the Liard and Dease Rivers. News of its approach circulates quickly and soon the bank is lined with people watching the slow approach of the vessel as it ascends the river (Plate 11, c). The crowd is quiet but eager, these occasions marking one of the high spots of the summer stay in the post. However, the introduction of the Alaska Highway has probably deprived the event of much of its old time emotional appeal. Now families often idle in front of the restaurant facing the Highway, where the arrival and departure of trucks may be silently studied. It was in this setting that the ethnographer was reintroduced to his Indian friends upon his return to Lower Post in June 1945.

In the family as well as in other groups there *is* a relatively low value on conversation. While in American society interpersonal situations are mainly sustained by conversation, and any sign of its lagging is often a signal for the group to disperse, in the Indian community verbalized social interaction is of only incidental significance. A group is organized on the basis of the presence of its members. Thus Kaska social life is not characterized by loquacity. Even during visiting, conversation is intermittent, commonplace, and slight. Gossip, as already pointed out, is never expressed in large groups but is confined to conversations that include no more than two or three well acquainted individuals.

Kaska humor is neither richly developed nor subtle in its construction. The society boasts no *raconteurs* noted for their ability to tell a series of funny stories nor is there a large stock of jokes. Nevertheless, the people are always ready to laugh and a person like Old Man, who does not confine "talking fun" to drinking situations, enjoys considerable popularity.

Several functions of humor may be noted. A joke is often used to make light of a difficult situation, either one facing the humorist or a person present in his audience. Several examples may be given. When Nitla's wife sought to leave her husband in preference for the latter's brother, Nitla continued to live with the couple. The situation provoked Old Man

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

157
x 181
159

OLD KEAN

Card IV. "Funny thing. Something like lake. Just like sometimes a man coming up that lake. Injun scared like hell." The subject digressed to speak of a mythological cannibalistic frog.

Card V. "I never see this country like this. Someplace something different too. Just like man. He do something in lake. . . ."

Card VII. "I guess devil like that. Old Devil, he make everything. God make good thing . . . this country I never see that one."

RIVER JOE

Cards V and VII. Rejected. One other rejection occurred in the record (Card X).

EDWARD PRINCE

Rejected all the cards till Card V, gave a response to that and rejected VI and the three all-color cards.

JOHN KEAN

Card IV. The first of two rejections occurred on this card; the second occurred on the second all-color card.

Card VI. "I never see that too . . . looks like bug, two teeth up here [D 7]. . . ."

x 157
181

The evidence of shading shock discovered in Kaska adults' records may be interpreted as revealing a deep feeling of inadequacy or basic anxiety derived from the early experiences of the individual. We conclude that this crippling anxiety follows from the child's emotional rejection. The anxiety may also be regarded as the inhibitory fear which makes the individual recoil from any intense emotional stimuli and motivates him to erect rigid barriers, like those revealed in the high *F* per cent, and defenses such as we have discussed in connection with the other dominant motivations. It is from this point of view that all of the dominant motivations may be perceived as defenses adopted against threats to still more basic needs, like security and self-esteem.

157
x 181
● 52

Release of emotional isolation. Several opportunities occur in Kaska life for the relaxation of defenses against emotional stimulation and the expression of relatively strong emotion in interpersonal relations. Gambling, with its opportunities for releasing aggression, is a situation in which the stimulation of company is greatly relished. Intoxication, as already indicated, reduces the conscious threshold of a number of inhibitions and is a condition in which emotional reactions are readily released. Dancing, with its opportunities for sexual and physical contacts, probably owes a large share of its popularity to the fact that it permits the release of isolating defenses, breaks down detachment, and facilitates bodily contact between young people of opposite sex. Visiting, idling, and potlatch groups have similar functions in partially breaking down social detachment. The whole summer period, in fact, holds opportunities and promises for closer personal relations.

x 181
157

Why should the breakdown of emotionally isolating defenses be enjoyed? The very fact that situations affording release are so popular suggests that the Kaska Indian is not completely satisfied in his way of life, that the guarantees afforded by social detachment also impose a frustration on "natural" tendencies. Whether such tendencies are innate or